

"seminar camps," which are essentially concentration camps.

Many others escaped across the Mekong River to northern Thailand, and others have resettled in the United States, France, Australia and Canada.

Before the end of this year, camps in Thailand will close and 30,000 Hmong and Lao refugees will be forced back to Laos. This is all the direct result of a misguided international program known as the Comprehensive Plan of Action, which has been in place since 1969. The program, developed to resolve the problem of the Vietnamese boat people, also affects other Indochinese asylum-seekers such as the Hmong.

The plan was drafted by State Department and United Nations officials with no public debate—although it is financed in part by American tax dollars. It has been responsible for the forced return of thousands of refugees, including the Hmong, to repressive countries, though the State Department refuses to acknowledge this.

A March report from a fact-finding mission to Thailand sponsored by Representative Steve Gunderson, Republican from Wisconsin, concludes that the State Department had not been truthful.

The fact-finding team charges the State Department with "deception" and "white-wash" to "cover up misdeeds of officials involved in helping pressure and force Hmong/Lao refugees from Thailand to Laos" and also to "cover up their persecution and murders" in Laos. The report accuses staff members of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees of giving "misleading" information to Congress that claimed that forced repatriation of the Hmong was not occurring.

Mr. Gunderson's findings confirm what has been reported for years by Hmong victims and their families in the United States, journalists and human rights organizations.

In a 1989 report about screening of Hmong refugees and asylum-seekers in Thailand, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights warned: "Screening is conducted in a haphazard manner with little concern for legal norms. Extortion and bribery are widespread."

Opponents of the House provision in the foreign aid bill claim that it will cause greater numbers of refugees and could cost the United States more money. But as Representative Bill McCollum, Republican of Florida, pointed out in a recent House floor debate, the bill would not increase the number of refugees admitted to this country.

The amendment, he said, is about "getting the United States out of a scandalous international program." And, he said, "It is also about allocating what few spaces we do have for refugees to those who need and deserve our help."

The Hmong veterans in Thailand are in a sense America's 1st remaining P.O.W.'s. They fought with Americans and we left them behind. It is well within Government's powers to save the Hmong veterans and their families.

The amendment to the House bill, proposed by the Chairman of the International Operations and Human Rights Subcommittee, Representative Christopher Smith, Republican of New Jersey, is a start and should be supported in the Senate. We can help these people without significantly adding to this country's refugee population and to our financial burdens. It would be the humane and just thing to do. It is a moral obligation.

COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1995

SPEECH OF

HON. CARDESS COLLINS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 2, 1995

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 1555) to promote competition and reduce regulation in order to secure lower prices and higher quality services for American telecommunications consumers and encourage the rapid deployment of new telecommunications technologies:

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, last night we voted on a rule on the bill H.R. 1555. I voted against it in strong opposition to the back room deals cut outside the committee process which have resulted in significant changes to H.R. 1555, and in strong opposition to the GOP leadership's attempts to ram this anti-consumer, pro-special interest bill through the House before the August recess. It has become typical procedure for this Republican-led Congress to pass hastily conceived, big business give aways in the dark of night at the 11th hour and H.R. 1555 is no exception.

Reform of our Nation's outdated telecommunications laws is an important and necessary endeavor. Last year this body overwhelmingly passed, and I supported, legislation that, while not flawless, certainly would have helped pave the roads of the information superhighway with increased competition and assisted in promoting greater economic opportunities for more Americans as we head into the 21st Century. However, this year's efforts have fallen far short of such a goal, with our constituents getting a raw deal.

In short, H.R. 1555 will deregulate cable companies prior to true competition in these markets. The consumers will pay in the form of higher rates for the most popular services. H.R. 1555 will also allow a single broadcast owner to gobble up enough television stations to control programming for half the Nation as well as giving the OK for one company to corner the newspaper, broadcast cable market in any community. Again, the consumers will pay in the form of monopoly pricing, limited local programming, and diversity of views. Finally, H.R. 1555 would allow phone companies to buy out cable companies in smaller service areas across the Nation. Once more, the consumers will pick up the tab.

While a certain select few amendments will be made in order under this rule that seek to temper some of these drastic provisions, I do not believe they will be enough to bring proper balance to this legislation. In addition, despite the 38 to 5 vote in the Commerce Committee to report H.R. 1555 to the House, the chairman decided to make a number of revisions to the telephone regulation title of the bill after meeting in secret with multi-million dollar executives. No matter what you think of these proposed changes, we should all agree that this is not the manner in which business should be conducted in the people's House—or has this body been renamed the house of corporate representatives, inc.?

Mr. Speaker, consideration of this bill began months ago when Speaker GINGRICH and his GOP colleagues held closed door powwows

with major telecommunications CEO's, yet didn't think it necessary to speak with consumer groups and other citizen advocates to get their input. Surprise, surprise.

This is a bad rule and I regret that we did not go back to the drafting table and craft a telecommunications reform package that puts the public interest before the Gingrich Republican special interests.

INTRODUCTION OF THE GRAND JURY REDUCTION ACT

HON. BOB GOODLATTE

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 3, 1995

Mr. GOODLATTE. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has taken unprecedented action in reducing the size of the Federal Government. No Government agency has escaped our careful scrutiny as we have searched for places to trim Government waste.

Today, I am introducing a bill that will trim a bit further. I believe it is time to turn our attention to the grand jury process.

Currently grand juries consist of at least 16 and no more than 23 members and an indictment may be found only upon the concurrence of 12 or more jurors. Reducing grand jury size has had considerable support and in fact the Judicial Conference recommended a cut in grand jury size as long ago as 1974.

A panel of 23 is administratively unwieldy, costly, and unnecessary. According to the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts, in fiscal year 1992 the average number of grand jurors which sat on a grand jury in session was 19.8. In fact, some grand juries sit with only 16 jurors, the number necessary for a quorum under present law.

In fiscal year 1992 total grand jury payments totalled \$16,526,275 or \$67 per day per juror. We would see significant cost savings if the number of grand jurors was reduced.

This would be a practical, as well as a cost-savings, reform. In a 1977 hearing on grand jury reform the counsel of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts testified that "our experience is that it is easier to summon a smaller panel than a larger one from throughout the larger districts."

My bill amends 18 U.S.C. 3321 to reduce the number of grand jurors necessary for a grand jury to be impaneled. Under my bill every grand jury impaneled before any district court shall consist of not less than 9 nor more than 13 jurors. An indictment may be found only if at least 9 jurors are present and 7 of those present concur. Judges across my congressional district have endorsed this reduction.

The Judicial Conference is scheduled to meet again in September. I am hopeful that the Conference will endorse my proposal at this meeting.

As a member of the Courts and Intellectual Property Subcommittee, I see this as an initial step toward larger judicial reform which the subcommittee will undertake later this Congress. I urge my colleagues to support this important proposal.

HR 1555
August 4, 1995

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — Extensions of Remarks

E 1629

COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1995

SPEECH OF

HON. GEORGE P. RADANOVICH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 2, 1995

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill H.R. 1555 to promote competition and reduce regulation in order to secure lower prices and higher quality services for American telecommunications consumers and encourage the rapid development of new telecommunications technologies:

Mr. RADANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, I intend to vote for H.R. 1555 and against attempts to weaken it.

I believe in competition. I believe in reduced regulation. I want markets, not mandarins of the bureaucracy, to control what communications services are available to us and how much we pay for them.

The electorate's message that came here with us was a clear signal. It rises above the din of those who clamor for controls.

The people told us get the bureaucrats out of our houses and off our lines. Americans reject the idea that privileges or special advantages should be given by government to certain companies, allowing them to carry on a particular business and control the supply of certain services.

Much as our constituents may enjoy the game of Monopoly, they don't want its impact on their real-life pocketbooks.

I intend to keep my word to the people I represent. Their final judgment will not be modified by me.

DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR,
HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES,
AND EDUCATION, AND RELATED
AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS
ACT, 1996

SPEECH OF

HON. MAJOR R. OWENS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 2, 1995

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2127) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes:

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, in connection with the remarks I made on August 2, 1995, I wish to submit the following additional remarks and extraneous materials which include the following items:

A. The letter of dying coal miner Jacob L. Vowell killed with 183 others in a coal mining accident.

B. The text of articles on OSHA which appeared in the Washington Post on July 23 and July 24.

C. A summary of the quotes which were contained in the Washington Post articles.

LETTER OF DYING COAL MINER JACOB L.
VOWELL KILLED WITH 183 OTHERS

Ellen, Darling, goodbye for us both. Elbert said the Lord has saved him. We are all pray-

ing for air to support us, but it is getting so bad without any air.

Ellen I want you to live right and come to heaven. Raise the children the best you can. Oh how I wish to be with you, goodbye. Bury me and Elbert in the same grave by little Eddy.

Goodbye Ellen. Goodbye Lily. Goodbye Jemmie. Goodbye Horace. Is 25 minutes after 2. There is a few of us alive yet.

JAKE and ELBERT.

Oh God for one more breath. Ellen remember me as long as you live. Goodbye Darling.

Letter written by Jacob L. Vowell while he and 26 others barricaded inside a Tennessee mine after a May 19, 1902, explosion. Although the makeshift barricade held out the bad air for over 7 hours, the trapped mines were eventually overcome by suffocating gases. The disaster claimed 184 lives.

[From the Washington Post, July 23, 1995]

THE HILL MAY BE A HEALTH HAZARD FOR
SAFETY AGENCY—SHIFT IN POLITICAL
FORCES BRINGS GOP PUSH TO WEAKEN
OSHA

(By Michael Weisskopf and David Maraniss)

Thomas Cass Ballenger, in his rolls as small-town industrialist, civic benefactor and veteran congressman from the western hills of North Carolina, always displayed a talent for fund-raising. But the money never came easier than during the congressional elections last fall, when he traveled around his state soliciting contributions for candidates who would serve as ground troops for the Republican revolution.

Whenever Ballenger spoke, checkbooks opened at the mention of the Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA), a regulatory agency that had emerged as a symbol of everything the business world disliked about the federal government. His vision of a House of Representatives controlled by Republicans, as Ballenger later described it, went like this:

"I'd say, 'Guess who might be chairman of the committee who'd be in charge of OSHA?'"

"And they'd say, 'Who?'"

"And I'd say, 'Me!'"

"And I'd say, 'I need some money.'"

And—whoosh!—I got it. This was my sales pitch: "Businessmen, wouldn't you like to have a friend overseeing OSHA?"

Indeed they would.

They liked the idea so much that they gave Ballenger more than \$65,000 to distribute to Republican candidates, including five from North Carolina who went on to win seats previously held by Democrats. The partisan transformation of the Tarheel delegation was an essential part of the Republican takeover of the House, and it led, among other things, to a new and decidedly pro-management chairman for the House subcommittee on work-force protections—Cass Ballenger. A panel that for years had been controlled by the son of a Michigan auto worker killed in an industrial fire was now headed by a deceptively easygoing, 68-year-old good old boy from Hickory who was educated at Amherst, inherited his family's box company and made his fortune producing plastic bags for underwear.

Ballenger and his allies are now fulfilling a promise made during the campaign. With the strong lobbying support of business coalitions, including corporations who are both repeated OSHA violators and leading financial contributors to the GOP, they are pushing the first viable legislative effort to diminish OSHA's powers since its creation a quarter-century ago. The Safety and Health Improvement and Regulatory Reform Act of 1995 would shrink the size of the investigative staff, shift the emphasis to consultation, eliminate separate research and mine-safety operations, and curtail the agency's powers

to penalize workplaces that fail to meet federal health and safety standards.

Most of the attention in the House this seminal political year has been focused on the "Contract With America," the balanced budget and Speaker Newt Gingrich's pronouncements. But the OSHA measure is at the center of a quieter struggle, albeit one with major philosophical and economic consequences. The refashioning of OSHA—in combination with attempts to repeal wage and union security laws enacted over the decades by Congress's old Democratic majority—amounts to what labor scholars call the most serious effort to rewrite the rules of the American workplace in the postwar era.

The vast bureaucratic system constructed from those laws was based on a question of trust: Whom do you trust with a worker's welfare—the employer or a federal regulator? The time has come, members of the Republican Congress argue, to reward the answer. "I think employers now take a different approach with their workers than they have in the past," said Rep. Lindsey Graham, a freshman Republican from South Carolina and a member of Ballenger's subcommittee. "My job is to get the government up to speed with the times. And the times for me are to reevaluate the role of a the federal government in private business. If you believe that is the mandate, OSHA is a great place to start."

Although OSHA was established during the presidency of Richard M. Nixon and has been run by Republican-appointed administrators for 18 of its 25 years, it is scorned by House Republicans as the archetype of a liberal program gone astray. They describe it as a place where swarms of inspectors swoop down to intimidate innocent merchants, professionals and manufacturers, drown businesses in paperwork and are more interested in imposing fines than ensuring safety.

"They need to do what the hell they're told," said Charles W. Norwood Jr., a dentist from Georgia and the most intense of the Republican freshmen I his dislike of OSHA. "They've been sitting in their little cubicles for 25 years thinking they knew what was best for every industry in this country. They don't. And they don't want to know. All they want to know is what they can get away with to collect money from us."

Many Democrats find their predicament ironic. Year after year they complained that OSHA was ineffective and needed more inspectors and tougher standards. I the last session of congress, before they lost control, they pushed legislation that would strengthen the agency in the very places where Republicans seek to weaken it. But now they are caught in a rear-guard action defending the status quo, arguing that OSHA, for all its faults, has been a savior for American workers. They cite statistics showing that OSHA saves an estimated 6,000 lives each year and has led to significant decreases in workplace injuries and illnesses. Behind the cover of reform, they say, Republicans are exacting corporate revenge, using the paperwork complaints of small businesses to enrich the management class at the expense of blue-collar workers.

The arguments mark a profound shift of political forces. For years business had felt an obligation to pay homage to the Democratic masters of Congress, even where their interests differed. The Republican takeover created opportunities to bring politics in line with corporate objectives, none more important than rewriting labor laws and loosening the grip of government regulations. In moving from a marriage of convenience to one of shared passions, the business world has showered the Republican Congress with financial rewards. In a single evening last May, at the "New Majority" dinner to